MUTINY

A PAPER OF
ANARCHISTIC IDEAS
& ACTIONS

#44 NOVEMBER 2009

MAC statement on
neo-Nazi attack on MARC

Climate Camp, Helensburgh

An account of
Indonesian dune
farmers

Policing the Border
to Manage Crises
Supporting Asylum Seekers
in Australia

Mutiny is an anarchist collective based in Sydney. We started this zine to explore different avenues of disobedience & resistance, & to encourage people to write about their ideas, actions & experiences.

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Brief News

TAFE teachers at demonstration

New South Wales: Wildcat Strikes

October 30, 2009. HUNDREDS of TAFE teachers across the state are staging wildcat strikes, defying an Industrial Relations Commission judgment on work conditions in return for pay rises.

Strikes without union authorisation occurred at the Sydney Institute TAFE; and the Wollongong, North Wollongong, Miller, Shellharbour, Dapto, Liverpool, Yallah and Hornsby TAFE colleges plan the same this week.

The teachers are walking out in protest against a judgment by the full bench of the commission, which increased their workload in return for a 12.5 per cent pay rise over three years.

Under the ruling, face-to-face teaching hours will increase by almost two weeks a year, the cap on teaching hours in any one week will be eliminated and required attendance time will be increased from 30 to 35 hours a week, plus a number of other exploitative measures.

Guatemala: Anti-Columbus Day

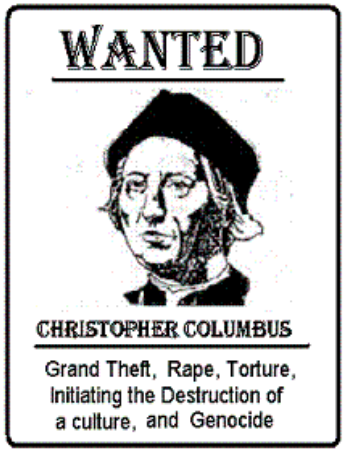
October 13, 2009, Tens of thousands of indigenous people have taken to the streets across Latin America to protest against the anniversary of Christopher Columbus' 1492 discovery of the Americas.

Columbus Day is celebrated as the Day of Hispanic Heritage in Latin America but protesters marked the holiday on Monday as a reminder of the atrocities Spanish conquistadors wrought on indigenous people throughout the region.

In Guatemala City, 19-year-old demonstrator Imer Boror was killed and two were wounded as Maya Indians blocked entry points into the capital to protest their government's mining policies. A group of indigenous people kept the Panama-Costa Rica border closed for several hours in the morning at the Sixaola border crossing and later protested in front of the Spanish embassy.

Several thousand native activists were joined by environmentalists, farmers and students for protests across Panama demanding respect for their land rights and rejecting energy projects that "do not respect the autonomy of indigenous people" and cause "forced evictions."

"The arrival of the Spaniards in the Americas in 1492 brought about the destruction of the Indian way of life and broke a series of political and economic institutions that has since driven us into poverty," said Cecilio Guerra before burning a Spanish flag close to the presidential palace.



Germany: Anarchists Confront Neo-Nazis

Saturday, October 17. Around 3,000 locals and activists gathered to oppose a march through the eastern part of the city planned by the neo-Nazi NPD youth, Junge Nationaldemokraten.

Initially around 600 young neo-Nazis were expected, but when more than double that number showed up, police delayed the march, saying they had to check the identities of some participants and wait for reinforcements. The neo-Nazis became impatient and started throwing stones, bottles and fireworks at the police, who cancelled the march and used a water cannon against those refusing to disperse. Several groups of anarchists emerged from the crowd and confronted the fascists and the police. A total of three cars were damaged after being overturned, while a bus used by the neo-Nazis was burned out.

France:

"We will destroy your morbid world," sprayed near Notre Dame Cathedral

Anarchists interrupt a sunny autumn afternoon in Poiters, France. On Saturday October 17, the group shattered store windows, damaged the facades of several banks, and spray-painted anarchist slogans on government buildings. They fractured a plaque commemorating Joan of Arc's interrogation here in 1429 and - in Latin - scrawled "Everything belongs to everybody" on a stone baptistery that is one of the oldest monuments in Christendom.

Greece:

Tuesday October 27, Aghia Paraveskevi police station was the target of Greek anarchists last month. This time with motorbikes and AK47s. Six police were wounded. Greece has recently changed governing parties and the new Minister for Citizens' Protection, Mr Chrysochoidis brings a certain amount of experience to the task of violently surpressing insurrection. He was the Public Order Minister in June 2000 when Brigadier Stephen Saunders, the British defence attaché in Athens, was gunned down by the 17 November urban guerrilla group. Mr Chrysochoidis has warned of zero tolerance in districts such as Exarchia. It was there that a police bullet killed a 15-year-old boy last December, triggering two weeks of riots that devastated the centre of Athens.

England: Wildcat Strike

Early in September more than 50 workers at a chicken supplier in West Bromwich downed tools to protest racial abuse committed by members of the security force employed by the bosses at the factory. The bosses responded by sending letters of dissmissal to the homes of the 54 workers early October siting "unconstitutional action" as validation. Discussions are being had between Unite (the workers Union) and the bosses of 2 Sisters Food Group.

New York: Tortuga Invasion

On October 1st, 2009, at 6:00am, the Joint Terrorism Task Force (a union of local police departments and the FBI), kicked out the front door to our home—an anarchist collective house in Queens, NY, affectionately known as Tortuga. The apparent impetus for this raid came over a week ago, when two members of our household were arrested, once again at gunpoint, in the suburbs of Pittsburgh. They are accused of being devious masterminds, of "directing" the rollicking G-20 protests. Three of us stayed to watch the hazmat team come in to investigate a child's chemistry set, to see them search the garage on an additional warrant, to sign vouchers for all the things they confiscated as "evidence"—Curious George plush toys, artwork, correspondence with political prisoner Daniel McGowan, birth certificates, passports, the entire video archive of a local media collective, tax records, books, computers, storage devices, cell phones, Buffy the Vampire Slayer DVDs, flags, banners, posters, photographs and more. If you want to keep in touch or find out how you can help please email us at: tortugadefense@gmail.com

*article shortened from infoshop.org

Climate Camp and its organisational practice.

The NSW Climate Camp was held from October 9th till the 11th in Helensburgh, a small town about 20 mins from Wollongong. It is the site of the Metropolitan Colliery, Australia's oldest coal mine; owned by the Peabody corporation. It was one of four camps across Australia; and followed on from the Newcastle camp in July last year.

Certainly, those involved in the organising demonstrated an impressive set of skills, political determination and capacity - it's no easy feat to bring together around 200 people, from various Climate Action Groups to ex-coalminers, for three days of workshops and actions. It's important to understand the dynamics and flow of this movement. The energy and climate crises will shape the development of capitalism for years to come: like any crisis they offer possibilities for new and exciting forms of struggle but also the chance for capital to further weaken and divide us.

The idea for a climate change camp originated in Britain from anti-capitalists involved in actions against the G8 summit in Gleneagles. It had a lot going for it: it was seen as a practical way to get outside the limits of summit hopping by choosing a place and time on our own terms and, whilst situated within anti-capitalist principles, the chance to escape the 'radical ghetto' and encourage the participation of wider groups of people.[1]In this article however we want to critique some of the political positions held by organisers and in the climate movement more widely. Critique and reflection is necessary for movements to grow and learn: we hope that these comments will be understood in a spirit of solidarity and mutual respect. It isn't so much a critique of individuals as a reflection upon the wider processes going on.

We want to primarily analyse issues of organisational form - such as the relationship to the media, the action and the spokescouncil. Other political issues surrounding Climate Camp; for instance of class, connecting climate change to people's everyday lives, of the need to avoid stagnation and invent new forms of organising are in some ways more important but for reasons of length and need to focus we've had to omit them. We hope there will be productive and wide-ranging discussion around them as well.

Form

The first major issue for critique was around some organiser's focus on 'getting good media to build a movement.' This has been an ingrained tendency within environmental movements for a number of years (there's often an extraordinary attention to detail; with in-depth media plans and intricate discussion of the 'image' of the protest). The reliance on corporate media to spread propaganda assumes a level of control over the content and also that a mutual interest exists between the media company (SMH, channel 10, Daily Telegraph, etc) and the interests of the movement. This view fails to understand the conservative role of corporate media and its (obvious) intrinsic relationship with the interests of capital. We cannot assume that the corporate press would even care about this action, and that they would not distort events and ideas.

This approach means that our collective strength and creativity is limited to media stunts and forms of dissent that are reactionary in their attempts to appeal to a medium that produces

1 This is excellently summarised in Sumburn, P 'A new weather front' available at http://turbulence.org.uk/turbulence-1/

an abstract, distanced relationship between participants and "viewers" or "readers". Political actions are reduced to a spectacle. Via the media problematic logics are reproduced and spread: for instance one lengthy Ninemsn article manages to both compare environmentalists to terrorists and celebrates the movement's middleclassness.[2] Media work is seen as a practical and tangible form of activism: but in this case the image presented of activists isn't really appealing at all.

Why can't we trust in our own ability to self-organise, to create free, antagonistic and radically democratic spaces? Explicit in "getting good media" was the underlying assumption that all participants would abide by the pre-defined conventions of appealing to the press. All desires and possibilities for something more are submitted to the higher authority of a good write up in the SMH. The need to break cleanly from this historical line of movement practice: influenced by big environmental NGO's and various single-issue campaigns (exemplified in Bob Brown's strategy of always appearing well dressed for the media in the Franklin River campaign in the 70's, where they even had a 'camoflauge cupboard' of suits and ties) is clear.

By taking up such an uncompromising position in relation to how we were represented in corporate media inevitably led to enforcing an ideological position of 'nonviolence'. If you're main purpose is to achieve a favourable write-up then controlling the protest through moralistic appeals to ensure that everyone behaves 'respectably' makes sense.

The way that this was approached by organizers of the camp was to get people to "sign onto" a participant's agreement upon entering the camp. Whilst this was largely symbolic it was effective in reinforcing the hegemonic position. The ideology of non-violence as a common principle at the camp led, as it has before, to the shutting down of spaces to question, clarify, or to even consider other possibilities of action.

During the Saturday night spokescouncil in which groups discussed actions that they might take part in, discussion was avoided and the "anarchist affinity group" was questioned and criticized when stating that they were interested in 'engaging in militant actions that could involve dismantling police fences, or supporting other groups interested in taking such actions.' The socialist group 'Solidarity' also proposed going on mass to the police lines to try to break through. Several groups raised concerns that this would be "violent" and therefore ineffective in getting "our" message across.

It is possible to understand the pacifist position in the context of how the state and capital are understood: they are seen as being malleable to the mechanisms provided by liberal democracy; that is 'public pressure' and sufficient media attention. Actions that leave open the possibility to confront both, and that may possibly be effective, empowering and radicalizing are instead isolated and silenced.

No group was arguing for "violence". Preferable to this would be a diversity of tactics where different perspectives are respected and no hegemonic ideological position would be enforced. A decision was eventually made to not have a spokescouncil on the day to coordinate affinity group actions, as it would "be pointless." For us a spokescouncil is pointless if it does not allow for and respect a diversity of tactics. Inherent to reaching consensus is accepting difference in actions and approaches, and then facilitating those actions based on mutual

2 See 'The New Green: Inside Activist Boot-Camp' from http://news.ninemsn.com.au/national/877401/the-new-green-inside-training-camps-for-activists

respect, not tiring everyone out until they agree on one central plan. This could have functioned as a mass meeting if the point was to get up one proposal decided on by a separate organising group in advance.

Partially as a consequence of this the action was a spectacular, ritualized rally that reproduced the uninspiring and disempowering processes that has become "political dissent" in Australia involving respect for police and civil obedience. During the camp several "climate activists" personally approached us stating that they wanted "something a bit more interesting" than the regular walk around the block and speeches.

Sustainable living, non-violence and the state.

The issues surrounding the discourse of non-violence can also be connected to the notion of 'sustainable living.'

During the camp this became a problem. On the first night two intoxicated locals entered the site and proceeded to be abusive and jump on a tent, before leaving. The response to this was to call an all-in meeting in which the decision was made to have a rotating camp security all night (which worked reasonably well), yet also to request that two police cars be stationed at the entrances to protect campers from the locals. Such an uncritical commitment to non-violent ideology meant that the violence of the state is legitimized and necessary collective force is essentially outsourced to the police to protect a "sustainable community." Sustainable communities can't be an end in themselves; they need to be separate from and antagonistic towards capitalist social relations. There's already an example of an eco-village for the rich proposed for construction in Melbourne.

The state, with its monopoly of violence, was therefore transferred across, responding to the demands of activists to have a physical and symbolic barrier erected between "the camp" and "the community." It would have been useful at this point to consider how our forms of self-organisation could be put to use the collective strength of the camp, instead of relying on police violence.

Conclusion

It is important to recognize the historical trajectory of ideas that revolve around appeals to media and to nonviolence and see how their hegemony manifests in movements like Climate Camp. In the future when considering tactics and actions rather than asking "will we get in the press" or "is this violent" perhaps we can ask if it is effective in increasing our collective strength, if it challenges the monopoly of power of capitalism and the state, if it creates spaces for our self-organisation to flourish. Essentially we should move beyond moralistic and reactionary conceptions, and act in multiple ways that are the most effective, inspiring and creative. This is necessary as there is not one right way to create change. Our tactics and forms of organising need to undergo scrutiny and allow spaces for new forms to arise. The concept of a 'diversity of tactics' is to create possibilities for resistance that are not prescriptive, as they never should be. There's another tendency within the climate movement that draws on anarchist principles, is influenced by the anti-capitalism of Seattle and S11 and that could be expanded and remade in a new way. If the apparatuses of capital and the state are to be overthrown the last thing needed are set-in-stone ideologies limiting our resistance.

If you want, please contact us for discussion around these ideas:

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MAC statement on neo-Nazi attack on MARC

This statement has been prepared by the 'Melbourne Anarchist Club' (MAC), the owners of the 'Melbourne Anarchist Resource Centre' (62 St Georges Road, Northcote), in response to recent threatening behaviour by local neo-Nazis.

It is intended to explain what has happened, and our response to it.

What Happened
On the afternoon of Monday, September 28, 2009, four neo-Nazi skinheads, believed to belong to or to be closely associated with the neo-Nazi skinhead groups 'Blood & Honour Australia' and the 'Southern Cross Hammerskins', attended the MARC. The neo-Nazis interrupted a meeting of a group which campaigns against sexual violence.

The neo-Nazis were highly agitated and very aggressive, confronting those present and preventing their exit by blocking the front door. They screamed and shouted, pushed over book shelves, crowded individuals, and threatened physical violence (including the use of capsicum spray or 'mace'). The neo-Nazis demanded to know if the individuals present were 'antifa' (anti-fascists), and to be provided with the name and location of the blogger 'slackbastard'. After approximately 10 minutes, they left MARC with a final 'Sieg Heil!'

One of those present at the meeting provides the following account:

> At 3pm Monday the 28th of September, several of us were sitting in the Barricade bookshop when four men entered through the front door. One of them, who was carrying a can of mace [pepper spray], yelled for us to sit down and that they had a message to deliver (he also asked who was in charge!). They proceeded to deliver a message that amounted to threatening that the MARC space would be the first point of call if there was any more antifa [anti-fascist] activity in Melbourne. They pushed over two bookshelves and swept some zines off the table as they left… Nobody was hurt, and there was no damage done to the space, just some disorganised books. We were all a bit shaken, but looked after each other.

It is understood that the most vocal neo-Nazi was a man named Justin. Justin is in his mid- to late-30s, and has tattoos on his hands and neck. He is the Victorian organiser for 'Blood & Honour', and is also closely associated with the Hammerskins. It is also understood that Justin works at 'Hold Fast Body Art' tattoo studio in Burwood (13 Burwood Highway).
During the course of their intervention at MARC, Justin informed those present that his business had been graffitied, and demanded that 'antifa' cease all such activity, or that there would be violent repercussions for MARC and its users. It is understood that this was a reference to an alleged incident which took place on Monday, September 14, an account of which, 'Anti-Fascists attack neo-Nazi's business in Burwood' (http://indymedia.org.au/2009/09/14/anti-fascists-attack-neo-nazis-business-in-burwood), was published anonymously on the Melbourne Indymedia website.

There is no independent confirmation of this incident, but given Justin's subsequent behaviour, we understand it to be true.

Our Response
The Melbourne Anarchist Club remains committed to continuing to facilitate anarchist activity in Melbourne.

Thus the Melbourne Anarchist Resource Centre will continue to remain open to the public, and to be used by a variety of groups, including:

- those campaigning for an end to sexual violence, for workers' rights, and for environmental preservation;
- as a venue for art, music and film;
- as a source of information on contemporary struggles for justice, as well as historical inquiry;
- and as a continuing resource for those, like the Melbourne Anarchist Club, who want to advance the cause of revolutionary, class-struggle anarchism.

In addition to reviewing, along with the various groups which make use of MARC, our security and safety procedures, the MAC is organising an Open Day for the general public.

The **Open Day** will take place on **Saturday, November 28**, and will include free food, entertainment, and a variety of other activities.

More details will be provided in coming weeks.

All are welcome.

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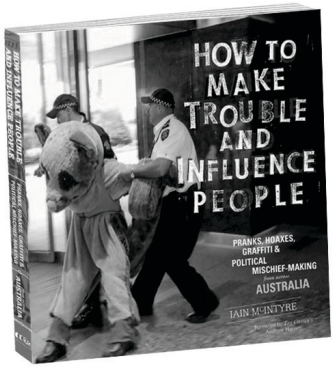
How To Make Trouble And Influence People



Since 1996 the *How To Make Trouble And Influence People* series of books and pamphlets has focused on how generations of Australian troublemakers have moved beyond political inertia to push the boundaries of "acceptable" protest. In a new version published by Breakdown Press Iain McIntyre has brought together the best material from the first three volumes as well as hundreds of new listings and images. The book also includes 14 interviews with leading pranksters and activists including members of the Order of Perpetual Indulgence, the Graffiti Games Organising Committee, BUGA-UP and the Network Against Prohibition. The following excerpts are just a few examples from the book that illustrate how radicals have used humorous and inventive approaches to challenge and humiliate the rich and powerful and illuminate the rest of us.

How To Make Trouble And Influence People: Pranks, Hoaxes, Graffiti And Political Mischief Making From Across Australia is available from **www.breakdownpress.org** or **www.howtomaketroubleandinfluencepeople.org**

The book will be launched in Sydney at Berkelouw Books Cafe Newtown (6-8 O'Connell Street, Newtown) on December 3rd with a launch party on December 5th at the Red Rattler (6 Faversham St, Marrickville) from 8pm featuring performances from bands including Ninetynine, Lee Memorial and The Kleber Claux Memorial Singers.

1000's of Kulon Progo (Indonesia) farmers resist corporate evil

from the PPLP

On Monday, October 20th, around 2000 coastal farmers connected to the PPLP (Paguyuban Petani Lahan Pantai or Shoreline Farmers' Association), took the street in front of the office of the mayor of Kulon Progo, in the town of Wates. Twenty-eight trucks full of farmers, wanting to convey their wholehearted rejection of a planned project to mine iron sands, arrived to demonstrate at the public consultation event. They were in the mood for action, just as they had already carried out many times before.

Present at the public consultation was the mining company that instigated the project, PT. Jogja Magasa Iron (JMI), as well as government authorities, NGOs, village leaders and the public. Yet, of the coastal inhabitants due to be affected by the project, at most 25 had been invited. What's more, when they showed their invitations, several of them were refused entry to the meeting room. There was a difficult conversation with the organising committee, because it was people connected to the PPLP that were being denied entry. Finally, only Supriyadi, the chair of PPLP, and a few others whose names were on the list managed to enter the glass building of the Kulon Progo Regency government.

Meanwhile outside the building, thousands of farmers were continuing with speeches, unfurling banners and placards, and performing a theatrical action about farmers fighting mining companies and bureaucrats in their suits and ties. The security was tight, with around 600 riot police deployed, along with a water cannon. It was possible to trick the police, and the people were able to penetrate the front line of cops and ended up against the second line. Those who had been up close to the front line managed to shift and move the iron bars that formed the police barrier. They swapped this barrier for one of their own in the shape of a banner which read "Coastal Inhabitants of Kulon Progo declare their resistance to iron sand mining and exploitation of the environment, until the last drop of our blood".

Inside the building, Sutarman, the vice-chair of PPLP, interrupted the meeting which was being chaired by the vice-mayor of Kulon Progo, Mulyono. He read out an official statement from the PPLP, in front of the General Director of PT. JMI, Philip Welten. The statement of opinion which he brought made clear that "this iron sands mining project has the potential to destroy the social fabric of our communities, destroy the environment and the self-sufficient economy of the inhabitants. Therefore those who live in the coastal zone, as members of the PPLP (Paguyuban Petani Lahan Pantai) community, press the central government of Indonesia, Yogjakarta Province,and Kulon Progo Regency to swiftly cancel the plan to mine iron ore from Kulon Progo's coastal fringe."

The action outside that was being blocked by police had the firm desire that officials from JMI and the Kulon Progo government should meet with the farmers. Sutarman returned to the meeting room to ask that the government and company meet the people, but this request was catagorically denied by the government. While the masses waited they listened to speeches and sung prayers. An example of one of the prayers can be roughly translated as follows "Shalatullah Shalaamullaah a'laa thaha rosullulliaah... it's farmers that pay for the mayor, it's farmers that pay for the local council, it's farmers that pay for the police... careful you don't want to end up dead".

One participant made a speech from the loudspeaker stating, “it seems our blood is redder than that of the investors, because they don’t want to let loose their passions, while we are prepared to sacrifice ourselves for the sake of the environment”. A moment later the farmers spontaneously started to move towards the police barricade. Farmers began the attack, wanting to get to the various officials inside the building involved with the mining project. Speeches gave way to direct action, as the power of their initiative pushed through the line of police barricades.

Pushing started between the farmers and the police. The police were forced to move backwards by the strength of the peasant’s action. This attack made the first line of police barricades retreat to behind the second, whose shields were taller. The police, fully equipped with armoured uniforms, batons and shields, fought back by hitting the farmers who, totally unarmed, withheld the attack to the best of their abilities. Many younger farmers fought back with their bare hands, punching and kicking back at the police.

The sound of shots, like explosions, was swiftly heard as farmers started a spontaneous attack, throwing stones that they found by the railway line. The constant and intense rain of stones could not be avoided. The police were fighting back, also using stones as well as shooting tear gas. Although the sound of three shots had already been heard, the farmers held strong, continuing to attack whilst defending the space they created, as the police retreated. According to Widodo, a field co-ordinator of the PPLP, “Police shot the tear gas,aiming in front of me. The tear gas cannister was fired, and I only just managed to dodge it as it passed 50cm in front of my head”. Five separate explosions of tear gas being fired were heard. Eventually the farmers chose to withdraw from the discomfort of the tear gas, gathering in the town square where their trucks were parked.

Although the mass of people was already some distance from the local government building, tear gas continued to be fired, reaching into the centre of the square where the people were gathered. The water cannon was also turned on protesters. A woman from Karang Wuni village who didn’t wish her name to be revealed said, “the police are trying to kill the farmers. Take a look, we are going to remember what happened today.”

CALLOUT -

We hope that comrades from abroad can make a solidarity action for the farmers of Kulon Progo and make a presence to the nearest Indonesian Embassy regarding this case. We also hopes that Australian comrades will take action in their country regarding the involvement of Australian company Kimberley Diamond.

Our dear comrades of Kulon Progo are in one spirit with us. They are our friends in struggle and daily lives. A recent statement from the Sultan of Yogyakarta said that they will continue this megaproject – the consequences being more repression to come. But for sure, from the beginning of resistance to recent gatherings, the Kulon Progo’s peasants remained determined in their resistance and ready for the next social war. This is just a beginning.

Policing the Border to Manage Crises

Any politics engaging with borders must begin with supporting those who are crossing borders wherever they are erected. The interception and diversion of asylum seekers on their way to Australia in recent weeks has provoked intense debate concerning their plight for asylum, the politics of border control, and has further illuminated the notion that a crisis is central in contemporary practices of government. What is at stake in, and what can we discern from the current hysteria? One problem that lurks behind the recent concern for asylum seekers, and is present within the spectacle of 'increasing waves of illegal immigration' is that of the material techniques of control, exclusion and managed inclusion set in motion under the guise of the management of crisis. The rhetoric of 'crisis', both economic and climatic, defines contemporary political discourse. The key aim of this article is to identify some of the forms and locations that the border assumes through the mobilisation of the national in this context of crisis, the national here referring to the conjuring of a politics which functions through bonds familial, national, climatic and economic. We have attempted to pose some questions concerning this idea, focusing on the extra-territorialisation of the border and detention, on the role of affect, and value.

For the past couple of weeks, at the time of writing, 78 Tamil refugees are continuing to resist orders to disembark the Australian customs vessel, the Oceanic Viking, in Indonesia. Another 260 people are in a similar situation, forming around 10 working groups to co-ordinate their campaign and self organise their resistance from the boat. These people have engaged in hunger strikes, refused finger-printing and have been in communication with people on land, and made their case through the media. On the last day of October, 6 refugees staged a protest in the Christmas Island Detention Centre, which involved threatening to jump from a light post within the compound. On the 2nd of November a ship with 40 people on board went down in the Indian Ocean off the coast of the Cocos Islands, with only 17 people being found and rescued at the time of writing. The recent actions of the Rudd government, the response of the opposition, and the relationship between people's movement and the techniques of crisis management become clearer in this situation.

The so-called 'Indonesian solution' of locking people up in detention in Indonesia, which is effectively an attempt at just-in-time detention, has been the latest in Rudd's approach to this issue. Some, including former immigration minister Philip Ruddock, have argued that Labor has extended the Pacific Solution with softer rhetoric. Others in the opposition maintain that the policies of the ALP are far too soft, opening the doors to illegal movement. Rudd maintains that his government's response is 'tough but humane'. The Pacific Solution and the 'Indonesian solution' both function as extraterritorial

modes of containing movement. There is a simultaneous enforcement of sovereignty and a scrambling and blurring of its perimeters. Legality and space are thrown into question, whilst those who move continually navigate this condition of uncertainty, always confronted by the permanent, movable, and flexible border.

In the early 2000s, at the height of racist hysteria about migration, protests from within and outside of detention centres on mainland Australia made the brutal treatment of refugees visible. This was a victory in many senses; actions both desperate and militant not only located the space and axes of the borders, but directly confronted them, and attempted to destroy them. Since then, much has changed. For those of us not corralled into detention centres, off or on-shore, action has nevertheless been shepherded away from such direct confrontation – even if the gaze on our behaviour has not let up. Whilst those seeking to move outside of established channels towards Australia are contained away, elsewhere, much of the discourse of those opposed to detention centres on mainland Australia, has followed a similar course. Which is to pose the question of what the relationship between the extraterritorial modes of containment and the rise of liberal discourse within some pro-refugee camps is.

The movement of people outside of the channels of measure and beyond the codes of capitalist value, and the ongoing micro struggles against the regime of border control, throws the construction of the citizen and the border into crisis. Perhaps synthesising the contradictions emerging from the discourse of sovereignty, value operates as both code and usher. Macroeconomic management of the nation's population is the policing of bodies through value, demonstrated recently in all the talk of population control, and channels of migration. The sifting process articulated through the market, the nation-state and the detention centres is an inscription of value to articulate one's permission to move, and where they will end up once they set-forth. In response to the current needs of Tamil people fleeing from Sri Lanka even sectors of the pro-refugee movement and other so-called progressive groups are employing capitalist notions of value-adding to argue for the acceptance of asylum seekers. We have heard the language of cultural capital, where the knowledge and experience contained in a particular body enrich 'our' nation – whether this be measured in the index of diversity or assimilation. We will have a wealth of difference, or alternatively we can be assured, as a Greens' member made clear at a recent rally in Sydney, that Tamils have integrated well into Australian society in the past, and such can be expected to continue, meanwhile those not meeting standards can be deported humanely. Any and all of this needs to be refused. If you accept these arguments then you also accept that people are disposable when they reject, refuse and fail to comply with the role capital prescribes them.

There is a distinct affective component to the attempt to mobilise opposition to the Tamil asylum seekers, and support for stronger border control. Rudd has said that the Government would not be "moved by any particular tactics deployed by any particular person". His characterisation of people smugglers as "vile" and "criminal", and the questionable legitimacy of those in movement forms a part of the discourse binding border control to the defence of the Australian Way of Life. Moreover, construing the Tamil asylum seekers' actions as an attempt at "blackmailing" Australian society with emotional arguments operates as one element in the production and arousal of an affective relation which identifies and distinguishes

between the legitimate and illegitimate body, the deserved and undeserved subject. Whilst the effectiveness of this project is not overwhelming, it is visible in some respects. In dubious conversations it is possible to hear the invocation of "Australia's children's" future as rationale for border protection. Elsewhere the language of the household reiterates the functions of borders on the street and across the globe, as parallels are drawn between the homeless body and the border transgressor – as an "illegal immigrant" is much like a "homeless person who is trying to break into your home, when there is a shelter down the street". The border, in one sense, is an easily identifiable perimeter of Australia, yet it is also the mechanisms of control and exclusion that are aroused through the discourse of the familial-national-economic bond, reinforced by the climate crisis – as close to 'home' as the need to defend 'our' children's future and 'our way of life', as 'distanced' as the intensifying devices of regional neighbourhood watch allow, and as personal as the monitoring of any acts that might betray the illegitimacy of those next to us requires.

It is impossible to isolate any contemporary 'emergency' from the general state of emergency, and its attendant mechanisms of management to which we are subject. The coalescence of economic and climate crises has found a particular expression in debates concerning various techniques of management in which the state plays a pivotal role. Discourses of debt and scarcity articulate themselves in recently reinvigorated focus on population, as if it were too a crisis. It would appear that campaigns from the ultra-right to progressive groups associated with the Left are employing population control in a way that mobilises essentially the same activity, intertwining the policing of the border in the management of the general condition of crisis. Nationalist Alternative blaming (non-white) international students for the housing shortage in the inner city (see http://slackbastard.anarchobase.com), ALP member Kelvin Thomson's speech in parliament where he synthesised practically every notion of crisis management that is required and bound it up with population and border control, and the Australian Conservation Foundation endorsement of it, saying that 'our quality of life' was under threat (www.acfonline.org.au).

All of this is to say, perhaps what is at stake within and beyond the vital struggle of the Tamil asylum seekers is a demonstration of the broader architecture of the banal and brutal modalities of the management of crises. What is clear is that the issue of border control is increasingly central to the predominant mode of government of our era, which is precisely the management of crises. In this sense, it is alarming but not surprising that we hear comments that are encoded with the notion of people as human capital; and comments that re-inscribe the border in the places where we live, party and work. We need to abandon, confront and critique the language and politics that in any way reproduces the nation, the border, and the Australian family in the national household, and all codings of people's bodies in capitalist value. If it is the case that the management of crisis is the central axis of contemporary state activity, then the task becomes to make each moment unmanageable.

rascal & mark

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The Forever War
by Joe Haldeman

Part hard science fiction, military science fiction, and social science fiction, it's what some critics have called an autobiography of Joe Haldeman's experiences of the Vietnam War, written through a "space opera filter". Though you could probably then say it's been shoved down a garbage chute, losing all its military sparkles, and then packed snugly into some anti-war protestor's sweaty underwear.

It earns its title due to the time dilation (the slowing of time) experienced by the soldiers whilst travelling at the speed of light. Appropriately, in this current context, all wars seem like a "forever war" – with no clear wins, and plenty of losses. It's an anti-heroic fiction of war, divorced from the heroism and individual valour of militarism. The protagonist, Mandella, is an unambitious conscript happy to finish his 4 year contract, only to return to an alienating homeworld where nearly all of his loved ones have passed away, and precipitating his re-enlistment.

In pure science terms, time dilation is due to the effects of relativity. In the novel, on returning from an easy victory involving the slaughter of a Taurian colony and the soldiers having spent several decades travelling home, the Taurans' military technology advance dramatically. Which brings to mind, given that most wars fought in the last several decades involve a governmental force versus a lesser equipped guerrilla force, it is interesting that the millions and millions of dollars the government pours into military research to improve the methods of killing is often circumvented by the adaptability of guerrilla forces coupled with the recruitment of an indignant civilian population.

Secretly, I had read it for the purported orgy scenes, but rest assured you will feel disappointed as well. The Forever War has an interesting prediction (as futuristic sci-fi tends to be) whereby the future Earth, in order to prevent an imminent overpopulation of the planet, institutes compulsory homosexuality. Though perhaps Haldeman intended to highlight the wave of free-love and changing attitudes soldiers were greeted with after their unpopular "tour" of Vietnam, within the novel Mandella's unisex soldier buddies see his heterosexuality as strange and disgusting – wow, as if that will ever happen!

Dumpstered Twin

How Soccer Explains the World: An Unlikely Theory of Globalisation by Franklin Foer

I like to read most anything about the intersection of politics with football, so I was fairly excited to come across this book, with its claim to present 'an unlikely theory of globalisation'. The thing is, there is very little 'unlikely' about what is written here. Instead, Foer uses football to present a fairly standard liberal, capitalist worldview, which holds the nation-state as an important unifier of people and guarantor of their rights. Really, I could spend this entire review dismembering the conceited liberalism of Foer, but I suppose it would just read like a rant instead of a book review.

As a soccer fan who has read a fair bit about football and politics, I was extremely disappointed that there was not one case study provided (each chapter introduces a new one) that i hadn't read something about previously. For others, there might be a few moments of interest here. However, most of the case studies are only superficially grazed and are always imbued with that particularly annoying, American journalist arrogance.

One chapter that was worthwhile was about the role that the Serb nationalist fans of Red Star Belgrade played in the break-up of Yugoslavia and the resulting conflict in the Balkans. Foer's exposition of the crossover between these fan groups and the notoriously brutal militias of the Serb warlord, Arkan, makes the well-known links between the far-right and some sections of football fandom in Britain seem tame by comparison.

While most of the other chapters disappoint, one particularly exemplifies all the failings of this book. It's about football and basically proposes that in analysing Iranians' love of football, we can see the vision they hold of being free of their conservative, religious rule. This is ok enough, if not argued particularly well. However, it comes with the brash American imposition of meaning, that if the people are against that one thing - a theocratic, Muslim state - they must be for a western, consumer-based society. It also contains the amazing line that "any photo of David Beckham, for example, with his protean hair always shifting from buzz to mohawk to ponytail, represents an idea of freedom".

Sour Dough

This month in Mutiny Zine:

- A statement by the Melbourne Anarchist Club responding to the recent, fascist attack on their space.

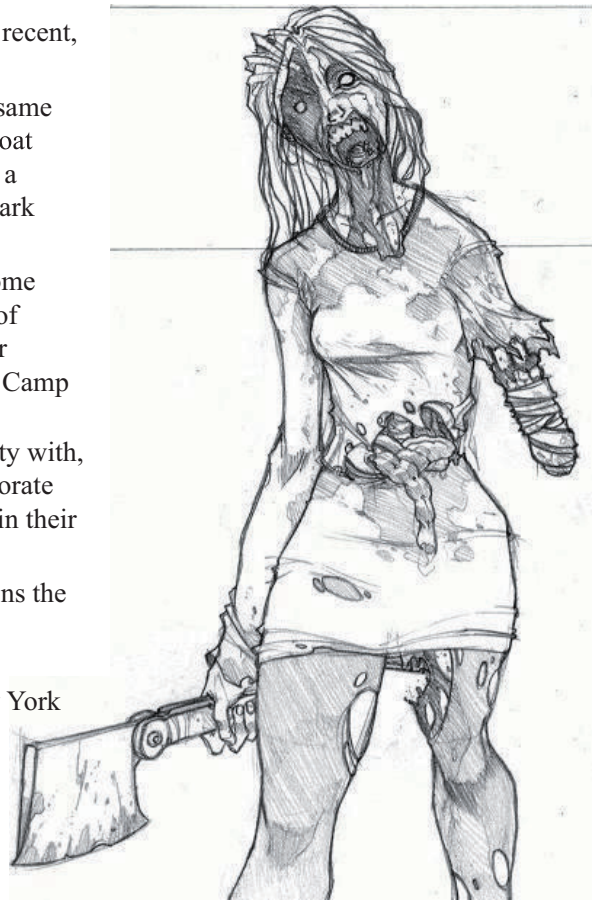
- What's old is new again as that same old paranoia about an influx of 'boat people' amps up. This time under a Labour governmet. Rascal and Mark throwdown analysis.

- Huevo Podrido and Tim pose some direct questions about the nature of organising mass actions after their experiences at the recent Climate Camp protest.

- A report on, and call for solidarity with, Indonesian farmers resisting corporate power an its imposition of minig in their region.

- Reviews of 'How Soccer Explains the World' and 'The Forever War'

- News from NSW, Guatemala, Germany, Greece, England, New York & France.



Upcoming Events:

@ Black Rose Anarchist Library (22 Enmore Rd, Newtown)

- 7pm, Sunday, November 8th: Games at Black Rose.
- 7pm, Sunday, November 15th: Horror Film Night screening 'The Signal'
- 4pm, Sunday, November 29th: Open Community Meeting

@ Jura Books (440 Parramatta Rd, Petersham)

- 7pm, Wednesday, November 11th: Copwatch Meeting
- 7pm, Thursday, November 26th: Juracoustic (acoustic music night)
- 6pm, Friday, December 11th: Talk on European Autonomist Movements

@Red Rattler (6 Faversham St, Marrickville)

- Friday Nov 13th: Collective response to racism in our community. Details TBA.
- 8pm Thursday, December 5th: Ninetynine, Lee Memorial and The Kleber Claux Memorial Singers.